## Message Text

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**EXDIS** 

FOLLOWING REPEAT DAMASCUS 4043 SENT SECSTATE INFO BEIRUT DATED OCT 17.

QUOTE

SECRET DAMASCUS 4043

**EXDIS** 

FOR SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINS, SY, US, LE

SUBJECT: DIALOG WITH SYRIA ON LEBANESE SITUATION

**REF: STATE 243490** 

1. SUMMARY: MET SEPARATELY WITH ASAD AND KHADDAM OCTOBER 16 TO BEGIN DIALOG WITH SYRIA ON LEBANESE SITUATION (REFTEL). BOTH PRESIDENT AND FONMIN REACTED FAVORABLY TO OUR INITIATIVE. ASAD SAID HE WOULD WELCOME FURTHER CONTACTS ON THIS SUBJECT. HE ALLUDED TO US INVOLVEMENT IN LEBANESE CRISIS IN SECRET

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CONNECTION OUR SUPPORT OF SINAI AGREEMENT. NEITHER

HAD SUGGESTIONS FOR WHAT WE MIGHT USEFULLY DO BEYOND COUNSELLING LEBANESE TO STOP FIGHTING AND WORK FOR POLITICAL RECONCILIATION. END SUMMARY

- 2. PRESIDENT'S COMMENTS WERE CONSIDERABLY MORE EXTENDED THAN THOSE OF KHADDAM. IN COURSE TWO HOUR MEETING ASAD DISCOURSED AT LENGTH ON THEME THAT LEBANESE PROBLEM WAS BASICALLY ONE FOR ARAB NATION TO ASSIST IN SOLVING. LEBANESE CRISIS IS POLITICAL NOT RELIGIOUS IN ORIGIN. THE VARIOUS POLITICAL FACTIONS, HE MENTIONED SPECIFICALLY PPS AND PROGRESSIVE SOCIALIST FRONT, CONTAINED REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL SECTS. RE OUR IMPRESSION THAT SYRIANS MIGHT FEEL US SUPPORTS HARD LINE CHRISTIAN POSITION, PRESIDENT SAID THIS WAS NOT IN FACT THE VIEW OF ANY RESPONSIBLE SYRIAN.
- 3. HOWEVER, ASAD CONTINUED, "MOST ARABS" HAVE IMPRESSION THAT US IN PLAYING ROLE IN LEBANESE CRISIS IN CONNECTION WITH THE SINAI AGREEMENT. (HE DID NOT REPEAT ALLEGATION IN SYRIAN PRESS THAT WE WERE MEDDLING IN LEBANON TO DIVERT ATTENTION FROM SINAI AGREEMENT.) HE DID NOT PURSUE THIS POINT NOR DID HE CHALLENGE MY ASSURANCES THAT OUR EFFORTS IN LEBANESE CRISIS WERE SOLELY DEDICATED TO ENCOURAGING ALL PARTIES TO WORK OUT A JUST POLITICAL SOLUTION. (INTERESTING Y, KHADDAM WHO

NORMALLY IS THE MORE OVERTLY SUSPICIOUS OF US MOTIVES, DID NOT AIRTHIS ACCUSATION.) ASAD SAID HE WOULD NOT DWELL ON THE SINAI AGREEMENT. HE ACKNOWLEDGED IT HAD RAISED PROBLEMS IN OUR OWN DIALOG BUT HE SAW NO REASON TO LET THIS INTERFERE WITH OUR BILATERAL REALTIONS. HE TWICE STRESSED THAT HE FOUND OUR EXCHANGES USEFUL. WE DISCUSSED PROPOSITION THAT MUCH OF LEBANON'S PRESENT DILEMMA HAD BEEN SELF-CREATED BY GOL'S NEGLECT OF COUNTRY'S SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLENS DURING PAST GENERATION. HE SAID HE AGREED WITH THIS BUT AT LATER POINT IN CONVERSATION NOTED "THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT CERTAIN OUTSIDE FACTORS ARE ALSO INVOLVED." HE DID NOT ELABORATE.

4. PRESIDENT PROBED FOR BACKGROUND OF OUR COMMENT RESECRET

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ISRAELI REACTION TO INTERVENTION OF FOREIGN MILITARY FORCES IN LEBANON (REFTEL PARA 3). ASSURED HIM THIS WAS MERELY OUR BEST INDEPENDENT JUDGMENT AND REPRESENTED NO US COLLUSION WITH ISRAELIS. HE APPEARED TO ACCEPT THIS. ASAD THEN EMPHASIZED THAT SYRIAN POLICY TOWARDS LEBANON DOES NOT TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION WHAT ISRAEL MAY OR MAY NOT DO. SYRIA WOULD FULFILL ITS DUTY TOWARDS LEBANON NO MATTER WHAT. IF LEBANON WANTED THE HELP OF

SYRIAN ARMED FORCES, THESE FORCES WOULD BE PUT AT LEBANON'S DISPOSITION TO BE PLACED ANYWHERE IN LEBANON, FROM THE EXTREME SOUTH TO NORTH. HE WAXED RHETORICAL WITH FURTHER COMMENT, "ANYTIME ISRAEL SEEKS TO CONFRONT US, WE WILL FEEL NO RESTRAINT. WE WILL BE PREPARED TO FACE ISRAEL NOT ONLY IN SYRIA BUT ANYWHERE IN THE ARAB HOMELAND." THE PRESIDENT THEN PAUSED AND ADDED WITH A QUIET SMILE, "HOWEVER, WE HAVE NOT BEEN ASKED TO SEND OUR FORCES INTO LEBANON UP TO NOW."

5. ASAD ASKED IF WE HAD ANY SPECIFIC IDEAS TO PROPOSE CONCERNING OUR ROLE. I SAID WE HAD NOT; ONE POINT OF THIS MEETING WAS TO ELICIT SYRIAN IDEAS. THIS CLEARLY PLEASED HIM AND HE EXPOUNDED ON THEME THAT SYRIA HAD PURSUED POLICY THROUGHOUT THE RECENT MONTHS OF MAIN-TAINING CONTACT WITH ALL FACTIONS. IT REFUSED SUPPORT THE VIEWS OF ANY SINGLE CLIQUE. I SAID THIS CLEARLY WAS OUR POSITION AS WELL AND SHOWED THERE WAS INDEED IMPORTANT COMMON GROUND BETWEEN US. ASAD SAID KHADDAM HAD ATTENDED FIRST SESSION OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION COMMITTEE ONLY BECAUSE LEBANESE HAD INSISTED UPON THIS IN ORDER TO GIVE HIM MESSAGE OF APPRECIATION FOR SYRIAN ROLE. AFTER NOTING THERE WERE STILL A FEW TROUBLE SPOTS AND EXCHANGES OF FIRE IN BEIRUT, ASAD COMMENTED THAT PERHAPS THESE HAD BEEN STIMULATED BY THE CAIRO MEETING OF ARAB FOREIGN MINISTERS. CAIRO CONFEREES HAD BEEN WRONG TO MEET WITHOUT FIRST ASCERTAINING VIEWPOINTS OF THE LEBANESE PARTIES.

6. ASKED IF HE WERE MORE OR LESS OPTIMISTIC THAN HE HAD BEEN A MONTH AGO, ASAD REPLIED HE FELT SITUATION HAD STABILIZED AND RETURNED AGAIN TO THEME OF FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT IN SAYING, "BUT THE ISSUE DOES NOT RELATE SOLELY TO LEBANON; IF IT DID, I WOULD BE COMPLETELY OPTIMISTIC." SECRET

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HE CONCLUDED THAT NO LEBANESE HAD ANYTHING O GAIN BY CONTINUING THE CONFLICT. TO MY COMMENT THAT I HAD THOUGHT LAST SPRING LEBANESE HAD LEARNED THAT LESSON AFTER FIRST ROUND, ASAD REPLIED THAT SOME STUDENTS HAD TO PAY A HIGHER PRICE THAN OTHERS FOR THEIR LESSONS. ISRAEL, FOR INSTANCE, DID NOT LEARN ENOUGH FROM THE OCTOBER WAR.

7. KHADDAM WAS MORE RETICENT THAN ASAD. AFTER LISTENING CAREFULLY, HIS FIRST COMMENT WAS THAT SYRIA MADE NO DISTINCTION BETWEEN MOSLEMS AND CHRISTIANS IN DEALING WITH THE LEBANESE CONFLICT. IT HAD GOOD TIES WITH ALL SIDES; IT WAS CONCERNED WITH AND FOR ALL OF THEM. IT WORKED FOR THE SAFETY AND UNITY OF LEBANON. ITS EFFORTS WERE TO TRY TO STOP THE FIGHTING SO THAT THE VOICE OF REASON WOULD PREVAIL. HE FELT THE SITUATION WAS CONTINUING TO

STABILIZE. SYRIA WAS FOR ITS PART CONTINUING TO EXERT EFFORTS FOR NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND TO ELIMINATE ARMED CONFLICT.

8. RE WHAT SYRIA CONSIDERS WE MIGHT USEFULLY
DO, KHADDAM COMMENTED THE BEST US ROLE WOULD BE TO DO AS SYRIA,
I.E., TO ENCOURAGE VARIOUS PARTIES TO WORK FOR NATIONAL
RECONCILIATION AND AGAINST ARMED CONFLICT. I SAID THIS
WAS, OF COURSE, OUR BASIC AIM AND REFLECTED IN EVERY CONVERSATION OUR AMBASSADOR IN BEIRUT HAD WITH THE LEBANESE
LEADERSHIP. WE KNOW IT WAS NOT IN OUR INTERESTS TO BE IDENTIFIED
AS THE SUPPORTER OF ANY SINGLE CLIQUE IN LEBANON. KHADDAM
AGREED, SAYING SYRIANS TRIED TO AVOID THIS AS WELL BECAUSE
IT WILL NEVER HELP ATTAIN A SOLUTION. ASKED IF HE HAD ANY MORE
SPECIFIC SUGGESIONS, KHADDAM SAID HE HAD NONE AT PRESENT BUT
WOULD GIVE IT FURTHER THOUGHT.

## 9. COMMENT:

BOTH MEN HEARD MY PRESENTATION THROUGH WITHOUT INTERRUPTION. ASAD, AS IS HIS HABIT WHEN CONCENTRATING AND PERHAPS ALSO WHEN HE IS ON EDGE, CLICKED HIS PRAYER BEADS LOUDLY. KHADDAM WAS EXHAUSTED FROM HIS MOSCOW TRIP AND A DAY-LONG SERIES OF MEETINGS
N HIS FIRST DAY BACK
IN DAMASCUS. BOTH MEN GAVE EVERY SIGN OF APPRECIATING SECRET

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AND WELCOMING OUR INITIATIVE TO DISCUSS SUBJECT OF LEBANON WITH THEM. THEY WERE OBVIOUSLY PLEASED AT OUR DESCRIPTION OF SYRIAN EFFORTS IN LEBANON AS CONSTRUCTIVE.

OUR WORDS OF CAUTION ABOUT AN ISRAELI REACTION WERE

ABSORBED AND IDD NOT STRIKE THEM AS A THREAT.

10. IT IS SIGNIFICANT OF PRESENT ATMOSPHERE SURROUNDING SYRO-US CONTACTS THAT THIS WAS MY FIRST MEETING WITH ASAD WHICH PRESIDENCY DID NOT SUBSEQUENTLY ANNOUNCE TO MEDIA. MURPHY UNQUOTE I

## Message Attributes

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